I. STATEMENT OF QUALIFICATIONS

My name is Thomas J. Sugrue. I am Associate Professor of History and Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, where I have been a member of the faculty since 1991. I was born in Detroit, Michigan in 1962 and received my primary and secondary education in schools in Detroit and its suburbs. I graduated with a B.A. in history, Summa Cum Laude, from Columbia University in 1984. I received a second B.A. in 1986 from Cambridge University. I was awarded an M.A. degree from Cambridge University in 1990. I earned an A.M. and a Ph.D. degree in history from Harvard University in 1987 and 1992 respectively.

My first book, The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit, was published by Princeton University Press in 1996 and has won four major awards, including the 1998 Bancroft Prize in American History. I have co-edited another book and have published more than a dozen scholarly articles and book chapters. In addition, I have written dozens of reviews, short essays, and professional papers. My research has concentrated on the status of African Americans and their relationship to the larger society. I have written extensively on the topic of race relations, with special attention to the perception and treatment of minorities over the last half century. I have also written about the economic, political, and social roots of racial inequality and poverty in the twentieth-century United States. I have conducted research in archives around the country. My book and a number of my articles discuss race relations and inequality in Michigan, with close attention to metropolitan Detroit. A detailed record of my professional qualifications, including a list of publications, awards, and professional activities, is set forth in the curriculum vita attached as Appendix A.

At the request of attorneys with Wilmer, Cutler, and Pickering, I have conducted research on the patterns and costs of racial separation and division, past and present, in the United States, with special attention to Michigan. My report is based on my extensive research in the reports of various local, state, and federal government agencies, census and other statistical reports, and relevant scholarly books and articles by historians, sociologists, political scientists, and economists. I also draw material from my own previously published books and articles.

II. INFORMATION CONSIDERED IN FORMING OPINIONS

A bibliography of sources consulted is attached to this report as Appendix B.

III. OTHER EXPERT TESTIMONY; COMPENSATION

I have not testified as an expert at trial or by deposition within the preceding four years.

I am being compensated at a rate of $200/hour for my work in connection with this matter.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The population of the United States, and of Michigan in particular, has become increasingly diverse over the past thirty years. Americans of different races and ethnicities, however, live in worlds that have a long history of separation and are still, to a great extent, separate. This widespread separation between groups exacts a high price. This report examines the scope, causes, and consequences of persistent racial separation in the United States, with special attention to Michigan and metropolitan Detroit. I have chosen to focus on Michigan and Detroit as examples because the University of Michigan draws nearly two-thirds of its students from its home state and over half of its students from the metropolitan Detroit area.

While the aggregate population of the United States is increasingly diverse, the nation's minority groups are disproportionately concentrated in certain states and regions. The same pattern is true in Michigan: whole sections of Michigan are virtually all white. Almost three quarters of Michigan's blacks, for example, live in the Detroit area. Virtually all blacks, and more than 85 percent of Hispanics, live in Michigan's eleven metropolitan areas. This means that the vast majority of Michigan's counties have tiny minority populations. White residents in those counties are unlikely to have any significant contact with members of racial or ethnic minority groups.

Even when whites and minorities live in the same geographic regions, they still live in separate neighborhoods and lead separate lives. As a result of longstanding official policies, standard practices in the real estate industry, and private attitudes, the degree of racial separation in residence in the United States remains high. Three of the ten most segregated metropolitan areas in the United States are in Michigan. Metropolitan Detroit, home to about half of Michigan's residents, offers a particularly stark example of the persistence of black-white segregation. Detroit is the second most segregated metropolitan area in the country (following only Gary, Indiana), and rates of residential segregation in Detroit were higher in 1990 than they were in 1960. Many suburban communities on the borders of Detroit have remained almost completely white despite their proximity to adjoining minority-dominated city neighborhoods.

Largely because of the patterns of residential segregation, but also as a result of years of official policies, American primary and secondary schools are seldom diverse. Most students attend school with other students like themselves. Michigan ranks in the top four states in the country in the degree of black/white school segregation. In the metropolitan Detroit area, for example, 82 percent of the black students attend schools in only three school districts, which are nearly all black. More than 90 percent of the area's white students attend schools in districts with black student populations under ten percent (and most under three percent).

The costs of this persistent and pervasive racial separation are profound for minorities and non-minorities alike. Whites do not live near minorities, and they do not attend school together. Residential and educational distance fosters misconceptions and mistrust. It affords little or no opportunity to disrupt the perpetuation of racial stereotypes that are a basis and justification for racial separation. The high degree of separation by race reinforces and hardens perceptions of racial difference. It creates racially homogenous public institutions that are geographically defined, limits the access of many minorities to employment opportunities, and leads to racial polarization in politics. Residential segregation has led to a concentration of poverty in urban areas and means that members of minority groups, even those who are considered middle-class, have direct experience with poverty and its consequences. And numerous surveys by public opinion researchers demonstrate that large gaps divide whites and blacks on their views of a wide range of issues, and that those gaps

have persisted over time. These patterns are the consequence of the fact that few Americans of different racial and ethnic backgrounds interact in a meaningful way on a daily basis.

In sum, today's racial and ethnic separation is a legacy of the past which we have not yet overcome.

OPINIONS TO BE EXPRESSED

V. INTRODUCTION

At the end of the twentieth century, the United States is a remarkably diverse society. It grows more diverse by the day, transformed by an enormous influx of immigrants from Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia. In an increasingly global economy, Americans are coming into contact with others of different cultures to an extent seen only in times of world war. Yet amidst this diversity remains great division. When the young black academic W.E.B. DuBois looked out onto America in 1903, he memorably proclaimed that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."[1] Over the last one hundred years, that color line has shifted but not disappeared. The brutal regime of Jim Crow and lynching was vanquished by a remarkable grassroots movement for racial equality and civil rights. Overt expressions of racism are less common than they were a half century ago. Many non-white Americans, among them African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans, are better off than their forbears. Despite all of the gains of the past century, however, the burden of history still weighs heavily. Color lines still divide and separate Americans. Many Americans have managed diversity by avoiding it -- by retreating into separate communities walled off by ignorance and distrust. In American public and private life, there are far too few opportunities to cross racial and ethnic barriers, to understand and appreciate differences, to learn from diversity rather than use it as an excuse for reproach and recrimination.

In the midst of our increasingly heterogeneous society are islands of homogeneity, places sometimes created by choice but more often built by inequity and injustice. All too many Americans today live in separate racially homogeneous worlds, in communities that are racially homogeneous. A majority of American children attend primary and secondary schools with students like themselves. They seldom benefit from exposure to the ideas, mores, and perspectives of students from backgrounds other than their own. Their experiences do not reflect the heterogeneity that characterizes the American population. Whites, particularly youth, are unlikely to have any sustained or serious contact with African Americans, Hispanics, or Native Americans. Many African Americans are unlikely to have any sustained contact with whites outside of their workplaces, with the exception of authority figures such as teachers, shopkeepers, and police officers. While separation has sometimes fostered a sense of solidarity among people with shared aspirations and values, it is a seedbed for misinformation, hostility, and fear.

The persistence of separation by race and ethnicity -- past and present -- has shaped the life experiences and attitudes of whites and minorities in fundamental ways. Despite measurable gains in the economic opportunities open to at least some members of minority groups, large gaps in socioeconomic status persist. The persistence of pejorative racial and ethnic stereotypes has greatly limited the opportunities available to blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians. Interracial distrust and suspicion is rife. Living and learning apart has created divergences in white and minority perceptions of many of America's key social institutions such as business, government, and the law. Racial division has also prevented many blacks, whites, Hispanics, and American Indians from

seeing the common ground that we share. The mists of racial misunderstanding becloud the shared visions and aspirations and the common struggles that have the potential to bring us together.

VI. RACIAL PATTERNS IN THE UNITED STATES

Demographic patterns in the United States have changed significantly over the last half century. Fifty years ago, a majority of African Americans lived in rural areas and in the south. Today, most live in urban areas and a majority live outside the south. At mid-century, the United States had few new immigrants. Most were of European descent, either family members of immigrants already established here or refugees from war-ravaged countries. Asian immigration had been restricted since the late nineteenth century; Central and South American immigration consisted primarily of temporary and seasonal workers. Today, the flow of immigrants to the United States is large, a consequence of the reform of immigration laws beginning in the mid-1960s. The face of the new immigration is non-European and non-white.

At the turn of a new century, the population of the United States is remarkably diverse (Table 1). The proportion of the population classified as white is shrinking and the proportion of non-white groups is growing.

Table 1: Percentage Racial and Ethnic Composition of the United States, 1900-1996

Year	White	Black	Other	American Indian	Asian/Pacific Islander	Hispanic
1900	87.9	11.6	0.5	NA	NA	NA
1910	88.9	10.7	0.4	NA	NA	NA
1920	89.7	9.9	0.4	NA	NA	NA
1930	89.8	9.7	0.5	NA	NA	NA
1940	89.8	9.8	0.4	NA	NA	NA
1950	89.5	10.0	0.5	NA	NA	NA
1960	88.6	10.5	0.9	NA	NA	NA
1970	87.6	11.1	1.3	NA	NA	NA
1980	85.9	11.8	---	0.6	1.7	6.4
1990	83.9	12.3	---	0.8	3.0	9.0
1996	82.8	12.6	---	0.9	3.7	10.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1997 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1997), Tables 12 and 13. For 1980 and 1990, the category "other" was broken down into the categories "American Indians and Alaska Natives" and "Asian and Pacific Islanders." Hispanics may be of any race. NA means data not available.

Today, the largest non-white population in the United States is of African descent; 12.6 percent of the nation's population is black. The African American population of the United States has grown primarily because of natural increase, but also because of immigration, primarily from the Caribbean and Africa. Particularly striking has been the growth of the nation's Hispanic population, a

category that includes Spanish-speaking immigrants from the Caribbean, Central and South America, and Mexico, as well as the descendants of Mexicans whose land was annexed to the United States in the nineteenth century. Today, 10.7 percent of the nation's population is Hispanic. The United States Bureau of the Census predicts that the nation's Hispanic population will soon exceed the African American population. The number of Americans of Hispanic descent is growing rapidly because of immigration and relatively high birth rates. The new immigration has also dramatically increased the number of Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States, a group now comprising 3.7 percent of the U.S. population. The American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut population of the United States is small, but has grown somewhat as the stigma of Indian descent has shrunk and as the native population has begun to repopulate after centuries of depopulation by war and disease.*/

The aggregate population of the United States is increasingly diverse, but the nation's minority groups are concentrated in certain regions and, in some cases, certain states. Blacks live disproportionately in the former slave states of the south and in northeastern and midwestern cities where they settled in large numbers as migrants over the course of the twentieth century. The Hispanic population is heavily concentrated in just a few states. Nearly three quarters of the nation's Hispanic population lives in just five states: California, Texas, New York, Florida, and Illinois. More than half of the nation's Hispanic population lives in California and Texas.[2] American Indians are scattered throughout the country in small numbers, but are heavily concentrated in a few states, most in the west, with large Indian reservations. Half of the nation's American Indian population lives west of the Mississippi River. Nearly three-fifths of the Native American population lives in just eight states: Alaska, Arizona, California, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Texas, and Washington.[3]

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*Note on terminology: The United States Bureau of the Census currently uses the terms white, black, American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut, and Hispanic. Hispanics may be of any race. I will follow customary practice and use the terms black and African American interchangeably. I will use the term American Indian as shorthand for American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut.

VII. RACIAL PATTERNS IN MICHIGAN

The racial divisions that characterize life in Michigan are deeply rooted in the history of the nation and of the state itself. Native Americans have long lived on the margins of white society, literally and figuratively. Virtually the entire American Indian population of the state was extirpated or forced to migrate to the west in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The small remaining American Indian population was largely concentrated on reservations, primarily in northern Michigan where short growing seasons, poor soil, and the lack of marketable natural resources have kept them isolated and impoverished. Reservation schools remained among the most troubled and under-funded in the state, but were the only choice available to many American Indians until 1934, when they were first officially permitted to enroll in Michigan's public schools.[4] American Indian migrants to cities also found themselves largely living in conditions of poverty, mainly in the poorest, most decrepit sections of cities, such as Detroit's Cass Corridor, where they attended primarily segregated schools with blacks.[5]

Michigan has a small Hispanic population whose history is distinct from that of other Michigan residents. Beginning in the 1920s, Mexican migrant farm workers were recruited to the state by sugar beet and fruit growers. The World War II-era bracero program brought even larger numbers of seasonal farm workers to the state. Most lived in temporary encampments and many worked in conditions of near-servitude. Because of their families' transiency and because of hostility on the part of local educational officials, Mexican farm workers' children rarely attended schools for any sustained period of time.[6] Other Mexicans came to Michigan to work in the automobile industry, particularly at Ford, where they were generally relegated to the least desirable jobs such as spray painting, helper positions, and foundry work. To supplement their income, many worked in low-paying pick and shovel jobs and as common laborers.[7] By the onset of the Great Depression, Detroit was home to nearly 15,000 Mexicans, most of whom lived in substandard housing, many in tent and boxcar camps along the city's rail lines. Although Mexicans and other Hispanics did not face the same degree of residential discrimination and segregation as did African Americans, they suffered discrimination particularly in workplaces.[8] Children of Mexican descent attended schools where few teachers had the language skills to teach them adequately. In addition, Mexican Americans were subject to repatriation and deportation campaigns. During the Great Depression, Mexican immigrants in Michigan, even those who had been naturalized as United States citizens, were routinely deported with the encouragement of Detroit Public Welfare Department officials who hoped to cut the poor relief rolls. A second wave of deportation, this based on citizenship rather than economic status, occurred in the early 1950s. Michigan's Hispanic population grew again with the immigration reforms of the 1960s.[9]

Blacks in Michigan, as I describe at greater length below, have long lived separately from other groups. Their economic, social, and educational circumstances differed significantly from other groups. Beginning with the World War I era migration of blacks to the north, they suffered great hostility from whites. Persistent racial discrimination entrapped blacks in the most insecure, poorly paying jobs. They bore the brunt of the effects of economic restructuring that began unheralded in the early 1950s as Michigan's urban job base began to erode when firms moved to white suburban and rural areas. They encountered intense resistance in their search for decent housing; their lack of free choices in the housing market created a high degree of residential segregation that has not changed significantly in the last half-century. Segregation had educational consequences as well: blacks were and are unlikely to attend schools with whites.[10]

Over the course of the twentieth century, Michigan has remained a majority white state, with a sizeable African American minority, and small

Hispanic and American Indian populations (Table 2). Approximately 82 percent of Michigan's population is white; about 14 percent is African American; slightly more than 2 percent is Hispanic, mainly of Mexican descent; and under one percent is of American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut background.

As a whole, the state's minority population is younger than its white population; as a consequence, Michigan's minorities are represented in higher numbers and whites in smaller numbers in the state's population attending primary and secondary schools.

Table 2: Michigan Population by Race/Ethnicity

	Population	% of Total Population	% of Total School Population
Total	9,295,297		
White*	7,649,951	82.3	77.4
Black*	1,282,744	13.8	17.5
American Indian/ Eskimo/Aleut*	52,571	0.6	1.1
Asian/Pacific Islander*	102,506	1.1	1.5
Other Race*	5,929	0.1	N.A
Hispanic+	201,596	2.2	2.6
Mexican	138,312	1.5	N.A.
Puerto Rican	18,538	0.2	N.A.
Cuban	5,157	0.1	N.A.
Other Hispanic	39,589	0.4	N.A.

Sources: 1990 U.S. Census of Population and Housing, Summary Population and Housing Characteristics: United States, 1990 CPH-1-1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992), Table 2; National Center for Educational Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics, (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1996), Table 44, figures for public school enrollment, Fall 1994. N.A. means data not available.

*Figures for non-Hispanic population.

+Hispanics may be of any race (black, white, Asian/Pacific Islander, and American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut).

Whole large sections of Michigan are virtually all white. The state's African American population has long been concentrated in the state's largest city, Detroit. Almost three quarters of Michigan's blacks live in Detroit area. Altogether, 96.3 percent of Michigan's blacks live in the state's eleven census-defined metropolitan areas (Ann Arbor, Battle Creek, Benton Harbor, Detroit, Flint, Grand Rapids, Jackson, Kalamazoo, Lansing/East Lansing, Muskegon, and Saginaw/Bay City/Midland). Nearly half of Michigan's Hispanics live in the Detroit area; 85.3 percent of Hispanics live in Michigan's eleven metropolitan areas. Slightly less than two-thirds of Michigan's Native American population live in the city's 11 metropolitan areas.[11]

The concentration of Michigan's minority populations can be seen in county-level census data. The vast majority of Michigan's eighty-three

counties have tiny minority populations (Table 3). Forty-two (or more than half) of Michigan's counties have populations of 0.5 percent black or less; forty-eight counties have populations less than 1 percent black; fifty-nine counties have populations less than 2 percent black; seventy-two counties have populations less than 10 percent black. There are a few small enclaves of blacks outside metropolitan areas, most notably in Lake County, the site of a traditional black summer resort, and in Cass County, home to a small cluster of black farmers dating back to the nineteenth century.[12] Likewise, many places in Michigan are nearly devoid of Hispanics and American Indians. Forty-one counties have populations that are 1 percent or less Hispanic. Sixty-eight of Michigan's eighty-three counties have Hispanic populations less than the statewide percentage. Small pockets of Mexican Americans live in scattered small towns and rural areas, usually in the vicinity of fruit orchards and sugar beet farms that have long recruited migrant Mexican farm workers. Over two-fifths of Michigan's American Indians live scattered throughout the state, with concentrations on Indian reservations in a handful of central and northern Michigan counties.

Table 3: Michigan Counties, Percentage Black, American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut, and Hispanic Population

	Black	American Indian/ Eskimo/Aleut	Hispanic
Alcona	0.3	0.6	0.5
Alger	2.4	3.4	0.5
Allegan	1.6	0.6	3.2
Alpena	0.1	0.3	0.5
Antrim	0.1	1.2	0.5
Arenac	0.1	0.9	1.1
Baraga	0.6	11.5	0.4
Barry	0.2	0.4	1.0
Bay	1.1	0.6	3.1
Benzie	0.2	1.9	1.1
Berrien	15.4	0.4	1.7
Branch	1.7	0.5	1.1
Calhoun	10.6	0.5	1.9
Cass	7.5	0.9	1.3
Charlevoix	0.1	1.8	0.5
Cheboygan	0.1	2.2	0.4
Chippewa	6.3	11.0	0.8
Clare	0.2	0.6	0.5
Clinton	0.4	0.5	2.2
Crawford	2.2	1.2	0.6
Delta	0.0	2.1	0.4
Dickinson	0.1	0.5	0.4
Eaton	3.6	0.5	2.4

	Black	American Indian/ Eskimo/Aleut	Hispanic
Emmet	0.5	2.7	0.5
Genesee	19.6	0.7	2.1
Gladwin	0.1	0.5	0.6
Gogebic	1.3	1.6	0.4
Grand Traverse	0.4	0.9	0.8
Gratiot	0.8	0.4	3.8
Hillsdale	0.3	0.3	0.9
Houghton	0.4	0.4	0.5
Huron	0.1	0.3	1.1
Ingham	9.9	0.7	4.8
Ionia	5.3	0.4	2.1
Iosco	2.1	0.8	1.2
Iron	0.0	0.8	0.5
Isabella	1.2	1.9	1.3
Jackson	8.0	0.4	1.5
Kalamazoo	8.9	0.5	1.8
Kalkaska	0.1	0.8	0.6
Kent	8.1	0.6	2.9
Keeweenaw	0.1	0.2	0.4
Lake	13.4	0.9	0.7
Lapeer	0.6	0.4	2.0
Leelanau	0.1	2.7	1.1
Lenawee	1.6	0.3	6.0
Livingston	0.6	0.6	0.8
Luce	0.0	5.7	0.5
Mackinac	0.0	15.8	0.3
Macomb	1.4	0.4	1.1
Manistee	0.3	0.9	1.5
Marquette	1.7	1.3	0.8
Mason	0.6	0.7	1.6
Mecosta	2.6	0.7	1.0
Menominee	0.0	1.5	0.2
Midland	1.0	0.4	1.4
Missaukee	0.0	0.6	0.6
Monroe	1.8	0.4	1.6
Montcalm	1.8	0.7	1.7
Montmorency	0.0	0.5	0.7
Muskegon	13.6	0.8	2.3
Newaygo	1.2	0.6	2.5
Oakland	7.2	0.4	1.8

	Black	American Indian/ Eskimo/Aleut	Hispanic
Oceana	0.3	1.1	6.2
Ogemaw	0.1	0.7	0.6
Ontanogan	0.0	1.2	0.4
Osceola	0.3	0.6	0.7
Oscoda	0.0	0.5	0.6
Otsego	0.1	0.6	0.4
Ottawa	0.5	0.3	4.2
Presque Isle	0.1	0.3	0.3
Roscommon	0.2	0.5	0.5
Saginaw	17.4	0.4	6.2
Saint Clair	2.1	0.5	1.8
Saint Joseph	2.7	0.4	0.9
Sanilac	0.1	0.5	2.3
Schoolcraft	0.1	6.3	0.4
Shiawassee	0.1	0.6	1.5
Tuscola	0.9	0.6	2.1
Van Buren	6.7	0.9	3.2
Washtenaw	11.2	0.4	2.0
Wayne	40.2	0.4	2.4
Wexford	0.1	0.7	0.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990 Census of Population and Housing: Michigan, CP-2-24 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993).

VIII. SEPARATE WORLDS: RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION AND RACIAL ISOLATION

The most stubborn continuity in American race relations has been residential segregation by race. In Michigan, as in the nation as a whole, whites and minorities seldom live in the same neighborhoods. The questions -- where do you live? and who are your neighbors? -- are not trivial. A person's perspectives on the world, his friends, her group of childhood peers, his networks and job opportunities, her wealth or lack of wealth, his quality of education -- all of these are determined to a great extent by where he or she lives.

Most Michigan residents live in neighborhoods that are not diverse racially or ethnically. There are few places where children of different racial backgrounds play together. Blacks and whites seldom talk across the fence. They rarely meet causally on the streets. They do not worry together at their schools' parent-teacher nights. They do not often attend each other's birthday parties or belong to the same social clubs and churches or attend town meetings together. As children, they seldom belong to the same neighborhood sports teams. They rarely swim in the

same pools. As teenagers, they rarely hang out together in malls or go on camping trips together or date. As adults, they intermarry very infrequently. They are not often at each others' weddings or funerals. Chance events or rituals, profound moments of bonding, or everyday social interactions -- these are the fabric of everyday life, the basis of relationships, of community, of commonality. Whites and non-whites are usually not part of each other's daily routines or witnesses to each other's life-changing events. Those routines and events occur in separate worlds. However diverse the United States has become in aggregate, the daily events and experiences that make up most Americans' lives take place in strikingly homogeneous settings.

Current Patterns of Residential Segregation

Residential segregation is the linchpin of racial division and separation. By segregation, I mean the separation of groups into neighborhoods dominated by members of a single racial or ethnic group. In most Michigan metropolitan areas, as in the nation, the degree of black-white racial separation in residence remains high, despite evidence of shifting white attitudes about race, despite successful court challenges to programs that perpetuated racial segregation, such as Shelley v. Kraemer (1948), which ruled that racially restrictive covenants were unenforceable, and Hills v. Gautreaux (1976), which ruled against racially isolated public housing projects, and despite the Fair Housing Act of 1968 and litigation against discrimination in rental and real estate practices in the last three decades.[13] The degree of black-white segregation has tended to lessen in communities with small black populations, areas around military bases (reflecting the racial heterogeneity of the armed services), and university towns.[14]

While patterns of black-white segregation are deeply entrenched throughout the country, racial segregation rates are particularly high in large metropolitan areas in the northeast and midwest, and particularly in Michigan. Table 4, based on data from the 1990 U.S. Census, lists the metropolitan areas in the United States with the highest degrees of black/white segregation. The metropolitan areas are ranked by their Index of Dissimilarity, a measure of the percentage of blacks who would have to move for the distribution of blacks and whites in every neighborhood to be the same as their representation in the overall population of the metropolitan area.

Table 4: The Most Segregated Metropolitan Areas in the United States, Black/White

Metropolitan Area	Index of Dissimilarity
1. Gary/Hammond, IN	89.9
2. Detroit, MI	**87.6**
3. Chicago, IL	85.5
4. Cleveland, OH	85.0
5. Milwaukee, WI	82.6
6. Saginaw/Bay City/ Midland, MI	**82.2**
6. Newark, NJ	82.2
8. Buffalo, NY	81.7
9. New York, NY	81.5
10. Flint, MI	**81.2**
11. Glens Falls, NY	77.5
12. Philadelphia, PA	77.1
13. St. Louis, MO	76.9
14. Muskegon, MI	**76.8**
14. Bergen/Passaic, NJ	76.8
16. Fort Myers/Cape Coral, FL	76.3
17. Nassau/Suffolk, NY	76.1
18. Cincinnati, OH	75.7
19. Youngstown/Warren, OH	75.6
20. Harrisburg/Lebanon/ Carlisle, PA	75.5
21. Hartford, CT	75.2
22. Dayton/Springfield, OH	75.0
23. W. Palm Beach/Boca Raton/ Delray, FL	74.5
24. Benton Harbor, MI	**74.4**
25. Indianapolis, IN	74.2
25. Bridgeport/Milford, CT	74.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Residential Segregation Detailed Tables, Table 3a (Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). Available: http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/resseg [30 November 1998]. The Census calculated the figures for 316 metropolitan areas.

Three of the ten most racially segregated metropolitan areas in the United States are in Michigan: Detroit, Saginaw/Bay City/Midland, and Flint. Only the Gary/Hammond, Indiana area is more racially segregated than metropolitan Detroit. Two other Michigan urban areas rank in the nation's top twenty-five most segregated metropolitan areas--Muskegon and Benton Harbor. Two other areas, not in the top twenty-five -- Grand Rapids (with an index of dissimilarity of 72.3) and Jackson (69.9)--have rates of black/white segregation higher than the mean index of black/white dissimilarity for metropolitan areas in the United States as a whole. Michigan's four metropolitan areas with moderate

rates of segregation, Ann Arbor (49.5), Battle Creek (62.9), Kalamazoo (53.1), and Lansing/East Lansing (56.8), follow national trends. Three are home to major universities, and all have small black populations. Altogether, only 7.6 percent of all Michigan blacks live in these four areas.[15]

Metropolitan Detroit, home to about half of all Michigan residents, offers a particularly stark example of the persistence of black-white segregation. In the metropolitan Detroit area, the pattern of black-white segregation has fluctuated only slightly since 1940 (Table 5). In fact, rates of residential segregation in Detroit were higher in 1990 than they were in 1960, despite the liberalization of attitudes toward race and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fair Housing Act of 1968. In the 1980s, black-white segregation rates grew more pronounced in metropolitan Detroit, at a time when the degree of racial segregation fell slightly in many other major metropolitan areas in the nation.[16]

Table 5: Black/White Segregation in Detroit, 1940-1990

1940	89.9
1950	88.8
1960	84.5
1970	88.4
1980	86.7
1990	87.6

Sources: Annemette Sorensen, Karl E. Taeuber, and Leslie J. Hollingsworth, Jr., "Indices of Racial Residential Segregation for 109 Cities in the United States, 1940 to 1970," Sociological Focus 8 (1975), pp. 128-130; Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 222. The 1940-1970 figures are for the city; the 1980-1990 figures are for the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

Hispanics experience a relatively high degree of segregation from whites, though not nearly as severe as that of blacks. Table 6 lists the twenty-five metropolitan areas with the highest rates of Hispanic/white segregation nationwide. Several patterns emerge from these data. Cities in the northeast and midwest experience the highest rates of Hispanic/white segregation. It is likely that in these metropolitan areas, the black-white color line influences Hispanic/white segregation patterns, for most northeastern cities have sizeable Hispanic populations of Afro-Caribbean origin, such as Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. Hispanics of African descent experience rates of racial segregation comparable to that of non-Hispanic blacks. Urban areas with large numbers of Hispanics (such as Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles) also tend to experience higher degrees of segregation than places with relatively few Hispanics, just as urban areas with large numbers of blacks tend to experience higher degrees of segregation than places with relatively few blacks.[17]

Table 6: The Most Segregated Metropolitan Areas in the United States, Hispanic/White

Metropolitan Area	Index of Dissimilarity
1. Lawrence/Haverhill, MA	75.2
2. Hartford, CT	71.1
3. Reading, PA	69.9
4. Springfield, MA	68.9
5. Bridgeport, CT	68.1
6. Newark, NJ	66.7
7. New York, NY	65.8
8. Lancaster, PA	64.9
9. Providence, RI	64.4
10. Chicago, IL	63.2
11. Philadelphia, PA	62.6
12. Waterbury, CT	61.6
12. Worcester, MA	61.6
14. Los Angeles, CA	61.1
15. Lorain-Elmira, OH	59.8
16. Bergen-Passaic, NJ	58.5
17. Allentown-Bethlehem, PA	58.2
18. Lowell, MA	57.9
18. Pawtucket, RI	57.9
20. Buffalo, NY	57.6
21. New Haven, CT	57.0
22. Salinas, CA	56.9
23. Tyler, TX	56.5
24. Milwaukee, WI	56.4
25. Boston, MA	56.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990, Residential Segregation Detailed Tables, Table 4(a). (Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). Available: http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/resseg [30 November 1998]. The Census bureau calculated the figures for 316 metropolitan areas.

Michigan's Hispanic population is very small. Hence the degree of Hispanic/white in Michigan is significantly lower than that of blacks (Table 7). In addition, Michigan has few Hispanics of African descent, who tend to experience high rates of segregation. In only three Michigan metropolitan areas, Saginaw/Bay City/Midland, Grand Rapids, and Lansing/East Lansing, is the Hispanic population over three percent. It is in those areas, and Detroit, where the degree of Hispanic segregation is the highest.

Table 7: Hispanic Percentage of Population and Hispanic/White Segregation, Michigan Metropolitan Areas, 1990

Metropolitan Area	Percent of Population	Index of Dissimilarity
Ann Arbor	2.0	26.1
Battle Creek	1.9	28.5
Benton Harbor	1.7	34.8
Detroit	1.9	39.7
Flint	2.1	31.4
Grand Rapids	3.3	46.8
Jackson	1.5	29.7
Kalamazoo	1.8	30.7
Lansing/East Lansing	3.9	38.3
Muskegon	2.3	30.1
Saginaw/Bay City/Midland	4.4	45.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Residential Segregation Detailed Tables, Table 4(a). (Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). Available: http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/resseg [30 November 1998].

Origins of Residential Segregation and Racial Isolation

Beginning with the New Deal, federal housing policy translated private discrimination into public policy, and officially ratified the discriminatory practices of developers and banks. Federal officials used an elaborate system of neighborhood classification, developed by the Home Owners Loan Corporation in the 1930s, to determine the eligibility of an area for home loans and mortgage guarantees. Predominantly minority or mixed-race neighborhoods seldom received federal mortgage and loan guarantees. The extent to which developers, seeking federal mortgage guarantees, would go to ensure the racial homogeneity of a neighborhood was vividly demonstrated in the early 1940s, when a developer of a subdivision for whites in northwest Detroit secured government-backed loans on the condition that a condition that a wall be constructed to separate the two neighborhoods. The developer built a six-foot high, foot thick wall which extended nearly one-half mile, and was successful in obtaining government-backed financing.[18]

In the wake of Shelley v. Kraemer, the FHA excised references to the racial character of neighborhoods from its underwriting manual, but its actuarial standards continued to prevent the financing of older, rundown homes and forbade the introduction of "incompatible" groups into a neighborhood. Realtors likewise adhered to a code of ethics that forbade the sale of a home in a homogeneously white neighborhood to a non-white. The lack of equal access to the mortgage market thus prevented most Detroit blacks from purchasing homes eligible for Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans Administration (VA) loans. The only black developments to receive federally backed loans and mortgages until the late 1960s were a few segregated communities newly constructed on open land near predominantly black neighborhoods, and the occasional infill home, constructed on vacant land in an already black neighborhood. Although federal laws since the 1960s have forbidden discrimination in mortgages

and insurance, recent studies indicate that minorities still do not have equal access to home financing.

Not only did federal policies encourage racial separation in housing, but so too did organized resistance on the part of whites. In Detroit, more than 200 homeowners' associations existed in the mid-twentieth century, most of them created to resist black movement. Often white homeowners used violent means to prevent black movement into their neighborhoods. In northeast Detroit, in 1942, whites attacked black families moving into the Sojourner Truth Housing project.[19] Between the mid-1940s and mid-1960s, blacks who were among the first to move into formerly all-white neighborhoods were targeted in more than two hundred violent incidents and protests, including stone throwing, vandalism, arson, and physical attacks. In the 1960s and afterward, similar incidents sometimes accompanied black movement into Detroit suburbs. Whites, acting from a potent combination of fear and racism, made it clear to blacks that challenges to the color line would exact a high price. Recent studies show that many blacks are still reluctant to move into predominantly white communities because of their memories and fears of white opposition to their presence. Even if they do not expect violence, they still expect hostility.[20]

As Detroit's white population suburbanized, opposition to racial diversity extended to suburban communities. In Dearborn, a middle-class suburb that was home to Ford's international headquarters, city officials collaborated with real estate firms to preserve the racial homogeneity of their community. In the 1940s, Dearborn's mayor promised that Dearborn would remain an all-white community. To that end, throughout the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, Dearborn officials vigorously fought against mixed-income housing in their city on the grounds that it would become a "dumping ground" for blacks and other minorities. Despite the fact that Dearborn and Detroit are contiguous, today the Detroit side of the border is almost entirely African American, while the Dearborn side has hardly any blacks.[21] Other suburban communities resisted black movement and policies to diversify the local housing market. On the borders of Detroit are many communities, among them Warren, Redford, Hazel Park, and Harper Woods, which have remained almost completely white despite their proximity to minority-dominated city neighborhoods and their affordable housing stock.[22] Other suburbs devised elaborate techniques to keep minorities and other "undesirable" groups out. In the Grosse Pointes through 1960, realtors favored home buyers of northwestern European descent. Blacks, Asians and Latinos were excluded altogether, and Poles, Southern Europeans, Jews, and other "swarthy" groups needed to meet stringent qualifications if they were to be allowed to purchase a home in the exclusive suburban community. Although the Grosse Pointes are now home to some Jews, Italians, Poles, and other groups of European descent, they remain bastions of whiteness today.[23] As a consequence of the exclusion of blacks from many suburban areas, the Detroit metropolitan area is divided by many invisible lines of race, including long stretches of Eight Mile Road on Detroit's north and Mack Avenue on the east, to offer two examples.

Residential Segregation: The Last Thirty Years

The 1968 federal Fair Housing Act forbade discrimination against minorities by real estate brokers, property owners, and landlords. But real estate agents developed more furtive tactics to preserve the racial homogeneity of neighborhoods. The most significant was "steering," that is the practice of directing white home buyers to all-white communities and black home buyers to predominantly black or racially transitional neighborhoods. Real estate brokers catered to what they believed were the prejudices of their white customers.[24] A 1979 study of real estate practices in metropolitan Detroit revealed the prevalence of

racial steering by brokers who showed blacks houses in black or racially mixed neighborhoods and seldom showed whites houses in racially diverse communities or in places that had any visible minority population.[25] More recent audit studies of housing discrimination conducted by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and by local housing and non-profit agencies -- where matched pairs of black and whites "testers" are sent to randomly selected real estate offices, consistently show the persistence of discriminatory treatment of black homeseekers and renters.[26] In short, discrimination by brokers has played a significant role in maintaining patterns of racial segregation throughout the United States, with an especially pronounced effect in metropolitan Detroit. Put differently, discriminatory real estate practices assure that blacks and Hispanics do not have the same degree of choice when they are house hunting as do whites.

Black and white attitudes also play a role in determining a neighborhood's racial composition. Detailed data from two University of Michigan-conducted Detroit Area Studies (1976 and 1992) show that blacks prefer racially mixed neighborhoods. Only a small number prefer to be "pioneers" in all-white neighborhoods; relatively few prefer all-black enclaves; but roughly nine out of ten blacks would be willing to move into neighborhoods inhabited by whites.[27] White views differ. Over the last two decades, whites have become more accepting, at least in principle, of the idea of having black neighbors.[28] But there remains a huge gap between principle and practice, between attitude (as measured by survey research) and behavior (as measured by actual patterns of racial mixing). Both Detroit area studies showed that "[w]hite demand for housing in an area is clearly affected by its racial composition." The more blacks a neighborhood has, the lower white demand for homes will be.[29] Also, in neighborhoods undergoing racial change, less prejudiced whites usually follow their more prejudiced predecessors in leaving neighborhoods as more blacks move in. There are virtually no neighborhoods in metropolitan Detroit that are one-third black, despite the fact that a majority of whites have told researchers that they would not feel uncomfortable living in such a neighborhood.

The lack of racial diversity in Detroit's neighborhoods can be explained in large part by the persistence of negative racial stereotypes. Metropolitan Detroit whites stated beliefs that blacks lack a work ethic, are prone to criminal activity, and are less intelligent than whites. A majority of Detroit area whites ranked whites more intelligent than blacks (56 percent); stated that blacks were more likely to "prefer to live off welfare" (71 percent); and spoke English less well than whites (77 percent).[30] The greater the extent to which whites endorsed these stereotypes, the less willing they were to accept blacks as neighbors. The authors of the Detroit study concluded that "whites who endorse negative stereotypes were more likely to say they would flee integrated neighborhoods and were less likely to consider moving into them." Similar studies conducted in other major metropolitan areas have also found that patterns of residential segregation by race are deeply rooted in racial stereotyping.[31]

It is important to note that residential segregation by race is not a natural consequence of disparities in income between blacks and whites. Middle-class and wealthy blacks are no more likely to live near whites than poor blacks. In an examination of the thirty metropolitan areas with the largest black populations in the United States, sociologists Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton found no significant difference in the segregation rates of poor, middle-class, and well-to-do African Americans. "Even if black incomes continued to rise," write Massey and Denton, "segregation would not have declined: no matter how much blacks earned, they remained racially separated from whites."[32] In metropolitan Detroit in 1990, the degree of residential segregation was uniformly high for blacks across the economic spectrum. The Index of Dissimilarity for black households with incomes below $5,000 was three points lower than that of black households with incomes of greater than $100,000. Rates of segregation among blacks and

whites of equal incomes, ranging between $5,000 and $75,000 were even higher.[33] In addition, large sections of Detroit's predominantly white suburbs have housing that most blacks can afford.[34]

Disparities in black and white economic status do not explain the high rates of residential racial segregation.

Black Suburbanization: A Sign of Change?

Since 1970, there has been a significant migration of African Americans away from center cities to suburbs. Suburban places like Prince Georges County, Maryland (outside Washington, DC) or Southfield, Michigan (outside Detroit) have generated much press coverage for their growing African American populations. Some observers have suggested that black suburbanization is a sign of significant change in American race relations, a move toward a more racially integrated society. But such optimistic views are not borne out by the evidence. Rather, patterns of residential segregation are persisting in suburbia. It is a fallacy to equate suburbanization with racial integration. In most places, black suburbanites have been greeted with white flight and the white abandonment of public schools.

Southfield, Michigan is a case in point. The community's black population has skyrocketed since 1970. One can find African Americans living in spacious 1950s and 1960s-era ranch houses, colonials, and tri-levels that were unavailable to them during the segregated era when they were built. Only 102 blacks lived in Southfield in 1970; nearly 7,000 lived there in 1980; about 29,000 lived there in 1990, making the black population about one-third of Southfield's total population.[35] But a review of census data for Southfield indicates a pattern of resegregation. The census tracts south of Ten Mile Road have become overwhelmingly African American. In addition, the Southfield public schools have witnessed a profound racial change. Eighty-seven percent of Southfield public school students were white in 1980; in 1990, 44 percent were white; in 1994-95, only 33 percent were white; in 1997 only 27 percent were white. It is likely, given the current trends, that Southfield will become a predominantly black community and that its schools will become almost completely black in the next ten years. If Detroit's past serves as an accurate guide, a growing black population will continue to spur white flight and lead to disinvestment and to Southfield's political marginalization in overwhelmingly white Oakland County.[36]

Conclusion: Consequences of Racial Segregation

The persistence of racial separation has had profound consequences for minorities and whites alike. It creates racially homogenous public institutions that are geographically defined, most importantly school districts. It limits the access of many minorities to employment opportunities, particularly in predominantly white areas (largely rural and suburban areas) that have experienced rapid development and economic growth over the last half century. It limits minorities' access to place based networks that provide access to jobs and economic opportunities, particularly for youth. It leads to a racial concentration of poverty in cities and to racial polarization in politics and in the distribution of resources. Because of strict segregation in cities and suburbs, blacks and whites do not perceive their interests to be common; better-off white suburbanites are increasingly unwilling to see their tax dollars spent on programs that they perceive will benefit cities and their minority residents. Fleeing whites then look back onto their old neighborhood and blame minorities for its deterioration, without acknowledging the role that stereotypes, population flight, and disinvestment played in the reshaping of those neighborhoods.[37] Racial separation has become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Whites do not live near minorities. Their residential distance fosters

misinformation and mistrust. It leads to a perpetuation of racial stereotypes that then become a basis and justification for racial segregation.

In sum, residential division by race remains a jarring anachronism in an increasingly racially diverse society. Residents of American cities like Detroit have created a cognitive map of the city based on racial classifications. Those classifications exact a high price. The high degree of segregation by race reinforces and hardens perceptions of racial difference. It has profound effects on racial attitudes and opportunities. And it creates a domino effect, seriously limiting interracial contact in many other arenas of American life.

IX. PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Racial homogeneity is the norm in American primary and secondary schools. American children are unlikely to encounter members of other racial groups in the classroom. Put differently, American primary and secondary schools are seldom diverse: most students go to schools with other students like themselves. By 1980, 17 of the nation's 20 largest cities had predominantly minority school districts. Most of them are surrounded by overwhelmingly white suburban school districts. As a consequence, University of Michigan demographer Reynolds Farley has shown, these public schools are "almost as racially segregated as those which were constitutionally permitted before the 1954 Brown decision."[38]

Table 8 calculates the number of Hispanic and black students who attend the school of the typical white student in six states with the largest number of freshman applicants to the University of Michigan. Between 1990 and 1995, applicants from these states made up 73 to 75 percent of the applicants to the University of Michigan from the United States.[39] The second column in the table, the percentage of blacks and Hispanics enrolled in all public schools, gives a sense of what the population of a school district would look like were all minorities evenly distributed across all school districts in the state. In these six states, white students attended schools that had far fewer minority students than the percentages enrolled in public schools statewide.

Table 8: Percent of Blacks and Hispanics Enrolled in All Public Schools and Enrolled in the Schools of Typical White Students in Selected States, 1991-92

	% Minority in School of Typical White		% Minority in Schools Statewide	
	Black	Hispanic	Black	Hispanic
Michigan	4.8	2.1	17.2	2.4
New York	6.7	5.0	20.1	15.8
Illinois	6.6	4.9	21.4	10.3
California	5.3	21.5	8.6	35.3
New Jersey	7.4	5.5	18.6	12.2
Ohio	7.0	1.0	14.1	1.3

Sources: Gary Orfield, The Growth of Segregation in American Schools: Changing Patterns of Separation and Poverty Since 1968 (Alexandria: National School Boards Association, 1993), Table 7; National Center for Educational Statistics, Digest of Educational Statistics (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1993), Table 47. Figures for public school enrollment, 1991-1992.

In Michigan, most children attend schools with others like themselves. According to a study prepared for the National School Boards Association, Michigan ranks in the top four states in degree of black/white school segregation, along with New York, Illinois, and New Jersey. During the 1991-92 school year, 58.5 percent of black students in Michigan attended overwhelmingly minority schools (those with student populations that are 90 to 100 percent minority). Nearly four-fifths (79.9 percent) of black students in Michigan attended schools that have majority minority populations. It is striking that far more students are likely to attend racially integrated schools in the Southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia) than in Michigan.[40]

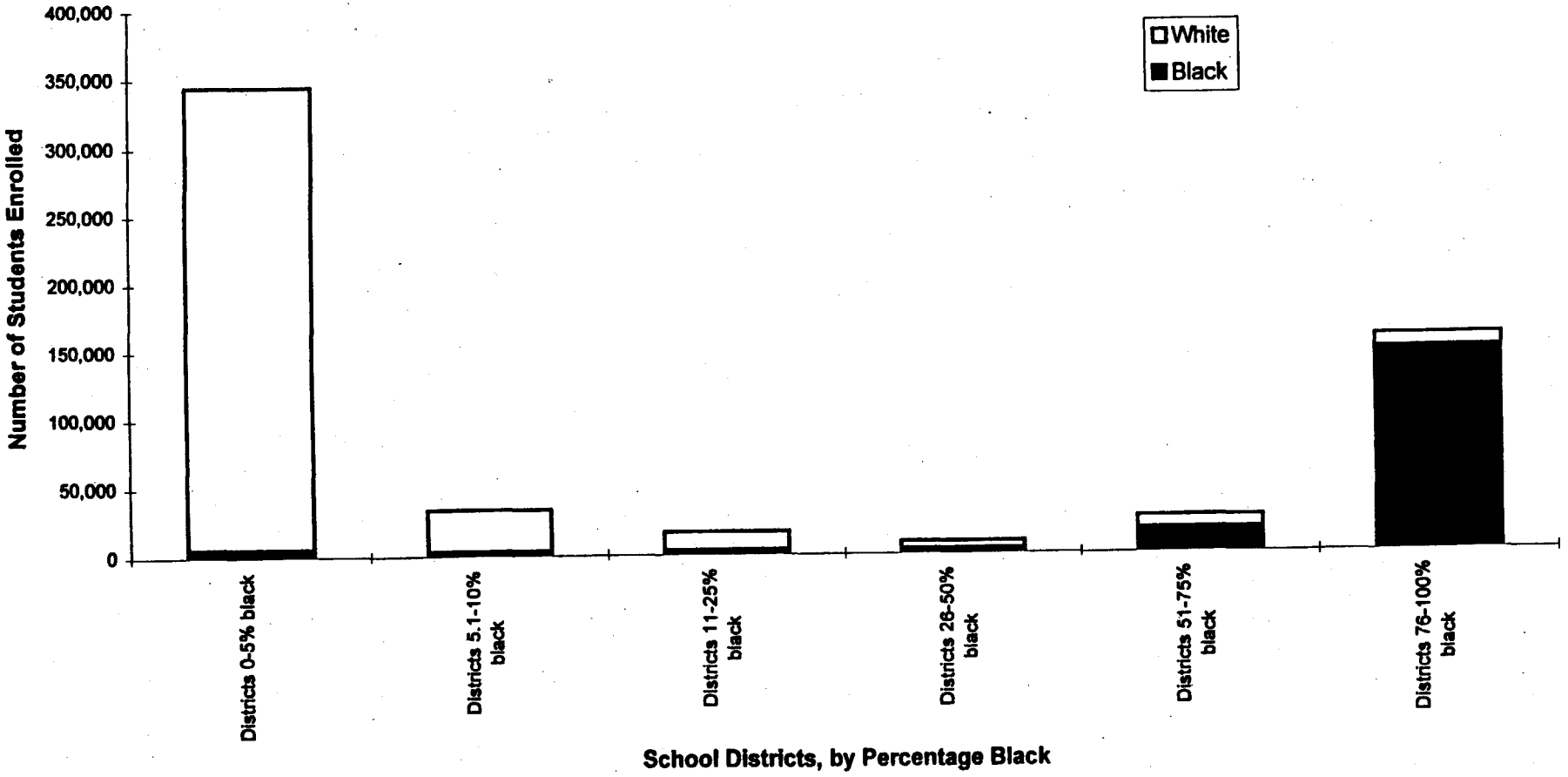
The three-county Detroit area offers a particularly striking example of the lack of diversity in primary and secondary education. A glance at school district enrollment figures for metropolitan Detroit makes clear the lack of diversity in most Detroit area schools (Figure 1). Of the 613,063 students attending public schools in Macomb, Oakland, and Wayne Counties, 66.4 percent are white; 29.9 percent are black; 1.7 percent are Hispanic; 0.6 percent are American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut; and 1.9 percent are Asian/Pacific Islander. These students attend school in 83 separate school districts. In 60 of the 83 Detroit area school districts, the black student population is three percent or less; another 7 districts have black student populations under ten percent. Altogether 90.7 percent of Detroit area white students attend schools in these districts. By contrast, districts with large numbers of blacks have very few whites. Eighty-two percent of Detroit-area blacks attend schools in only three nearly all-black school districts -- Detroit, Highland Park, and Inkster. The area's Hispanic population is more dispersed, but more than 50 percent of Detroit-area Hispanics attend schools in two predominantly black school districts, Detroit and Pontiac. Asians and American Indians are scattered throughout the area in very small numbers. While they are over represented in some districts (Asians in Bloomfield Hills, Troy, Novi, and West Bloomfield; American Indians in Gibraltar and Hazel Park), there are no sizeable concentrations of either group in the metropolitan area.[41]

Of Metropolitan Detroit's 83 school districts, only two (Mount Clemens and Romulus) come at all close to the three-county area proportion of blacks, Hispanics, and whites. If we compare the racial/ethnic composition of Detroit-area schools to the state as a whole, we find that only five small metropolitan Detroit school districts have black/white ratios approximating those of the state at large (Clintondale, Ferndale, Hamtramck, New Haven, and Van Buren). A total of 3,176 black students and 13,441 white students attend schools in these districts, or 1.8 percent of the three county area's black student population and 3.3 percent of the area's white student population.[42]

Source for Figure 1: K-12 Public Education in Michigan: Selected Characteristics and Services by County and School District (Lansing: Michigan League for Human Services, 1997). Calculated from school district enrollment data from 83 Macomb, Oakland, and Wayne County districts.

FIGURE 1

Racial Composition of School Districts Attended by Blacks and Whites in Detroit Area, 1994-95



The Roots of Racial Separation in Education

Racial divisions in metropolitan Detroit schools have a long historical pedigree. In the years before 1960, Detroit officials maintained patterns of segregation within the school district by redrawing the catchment areas of schools in racially changing areas and by allowing white students to transfer out of schools with growing black populations. Efforts to challenge the patterns of school segregation in Detroit met with intense white opposition, though a small number of white activists fought for racial integration and worked to achieve classroom diversity in the city. In 1960, when the school board, responding to critics of its racial division, introduced a voluntary "open schools" plan that allowed black children to transfer to formerly all-white schools, white parents' groups petitioned for the recall of elected school board members and boycotted classes for three days. Almost no whites participated in the program.[43]

Again in 1970, when the Detroit School Board announced a plan for the desegregation of its high schools, parents supported boycotts of classes and mounted a successful campaign to recall the four white school board members who supported the plan.[44] Whites also responded by withdrawing their children from Detroit's public schools in huge numbers. In the short period between 1967 and 1978, the Detroit Public School District lost 74 percent of its white students, the second highest rate of white enrollment decline in the public school districts of the nation's twenty largest cities.[45] By 1980, only 14 percent of Detroit public school students were white; in 1990, only 8.4 percent of Detroit public school students were white; in 1994-95, only 6.2 percent of Detroit public school students were white.[46]

The racial segregation of Detroit's schools was accompanied by the rapid growth of surrounding suburban school districts. As whites fled to the suburbs, they primarily settled in racially homogeneous communities. As a result, the racial composition of Detroit-area school districts reflects the homogeneity that prevails in most of the communities in the region. The high rate of residential segregation in housing ensures little racial diversity in education.

Also contributing to the racial division of Detroit area schools is the lack of significant programs in Michigan to bring together students across school district lines, as there are in other cities such as Indianapolis, where courts ordered inter-district desegregation, or Boston, Milwaukee, and Saint Louis, all of which have large voluntary inter-district school desegregation programs. Metropolitan Detroit has no voluntary or mandatory inter-district school integration programs. Most suburban residents opposed both inter-district busing and even small-scale voluntary efforts to bring minority students into their schools.[47]

Consequences of Divided Education

The consequences of racial disparities in education are far-reaching. Nearly every American child under the age of sixteen attends school; children spend most of their days over nearly three quarters of the year in the classroom; most children forge their most important non-familial relationships among their classmates. The vast majority of white primary and secondary school students have no significant contact with black, Hispanic, or American Indian students in the classroom. The vast majority of African American primary and secondary school students have no significant contact with white students on a daily basis. For more than a half century, specialists on race relations have reminded us that racial separation fosters mutual suspicion and hostility. It allows stereotypes and myths to flourish, because students lack direct evidence to contradict their erroneous impressions. The racial

and ethnic divisions in the United States are reinforced by the American educational system.

X. DIVERSITY AND DIFFERENCE: RACE, ETHNICITY, AND OPPORTUNITY

There have been significant changes in the racial composition of the American workforce over the last fifty years. In 1963, when Ford Motor Company was asked to list its white-collar occupations that employed blacks, it included valets, porters, security guards, messengers, barbers, mail clerks, and telephone operators.[48] That such a list would be unimaginable today offers evidence of how much has changed. Only three decades ago, whole sectors of the economy were nearly all white. There were virtually no black, Hispanic, or Native American college professors. The number of black lawyers was minuscule and the vast majority of all-white law firms did not admit black lawyers. Black doctors could not get positions or even privileges in white hospitals. Nary a black face could be found among the tens of thousands of middle-level, white-collar workers in Detroit's private firms. The records of civil rights organizations like the Detroit Urban League contain many letters from highly qualified African Americans who were unable to get white collar jobs in white firms.[49]

Minorities made limited inroads in the blue-collar sector in the mid-twentieth century. Minorities made their biggest gains in the auto industry, particularly during World War II, when their representation in the auto plants of Detroit, Flint, and Saginaw rose significantly. But they were generally confined to certain sections of plants and certain job classifications and were virtually absent from many other factory complexes. With few exceptions, black and Hispanic workers were confined to what one observer aptly called "the meanest and dirtiest jobs" in the urban economy, whether it be janitorial, sanitation, maintenance work, or work in the unbearably hot and life-threatening forges at automobile and steel plants. And minorities were excluded from many other jobs altogether. Whole sectors of the labor market, ranging from the unionized, skilled trades to sales positions, were almost entirely closed to blacks. The unionized building trades remained heavily white. Few blacks could be found in metropolitan Detroit's brewing, chemical, and tool and die factories. Apprenticeship programs, the gateway to the lucrative skilled trades, were virtually closed to minorities. Until the 1960s, blacks and Hispanics had virtually no jobs that involved personal contact with white customers such as retail clerks, bank tellers, airline stewardesses, and cashiers.[50]

The walls of racial privilege fell slowly in Detroit area workplaces. A coalition of civil rights activists, elected officials from both parties, and unionists campaigned for workplace integration. Many of the state's most prominent employers opposed the 1955 Fair Employment Practices law that forbade discrimination on the basis of race or creed in Michigan. In the early 1960s, civil rights pickets in front of some of the state's most venerable businesses (the National Bank of Detroit and General Motors) led these companies to take steps to bring aboard black employees to avoid public embarrassment. Other civil rights activists targeted the mostly white skilled trades and apprenticeship program and targeted department stores, breweries, and groceries, all of which had formerly excluded minorities.[51]

In the aftermath of the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, many firms began to open their doors gradually to minority employees. Government contractors, bound by anti-discrimination and equal opportunity laws, made inroads in the hiring of minorities. But the experience of minorities in private sector employment has been mixed. Some employers continued to prefer the comfort of homogeneity and avoid what they perceive to be the risks of diversification. Data from the Multi-City study of Urban Inequality shows that in Detroit, Boston, Atlanta, and Los Angeles, many employers regularly make hiring decisions based on stereotypes

about minorities and use race or ethnicity as "signals" of desirable or undesirable work characteristics. Many employers fear that minority workers will be less reliable, prone to crime, and unwilling to work hard.[52] Detailed interviews with Chicago area employers have also found that employers use race as a proxy for worker skills, motivation, and personal characteristics.[53] Pernicious racial stereotypes persist in many workplaces, a consequence of the fact that most white employers know precious little about minority workers and have little experience with them in other aspects of their daily lives.

Change also occurred haltingly for middle-class minorities. Prior to the civil rights era, there was a small black middle-class, mostly owners of what were called "race" businesses, such as funeral homes, restaurants and clubs, barber shops, and small stores that served a largely black clientele. Black businesspeople, with few exceptions, operated in a segregated world. For example, before 1961, there were no black "realtors." Black real estate brokers were called "realtists," because they were denied membership in the Detroit Real Estate Board and forbidden to use the trademark name "realtor." Even in the case of government, where blacks made the largest inroads, most were clustered in a few departments that served a primarily black constituency.[54]

A transformation in the composition of the black middle class occurred largely in two periods, between 1950 and 1960 and most dramatically after 1970 (Table 9). In 1960, the entire state of Michigan had only 324 black physicians, 142 black lawyers, 201 black engineers, and 95 black college teachers. The number of black physicians actually fell during the 1960s and the number of black lawyers increased by only 51 in that decade. But between 1970 and 1990, the number of black professionals rose significantly. By 1990, Michigan had 1,076 black doctors, 1,178 black lawyers, 2,658 black engineers, and 1,509 black college teachers. By any measure, the gains over a short twenty year period were remarkable. The number of black professionals rose most steadily in the aftermath of the civil rights era, as the first sizeable generation of black students graduated from law schools, medical schools, and other institutions of higher education (Table 9).

Table 9: Number of Blacks and Percent of the Total Workforce Employed in Selected Michigan Professions, 1940-1990.

	1940		1950		1960	
	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.
Physicians	125	2.0	196	2.7	324	3.4
Attorneys	63	1.2	95	1.7	142	2.2
Clergy	194	4.4	381	0.7	345	4.9
Engineers	25	0.2	78	0.3	201	0.5
Editors, Reporters & Authors	17	0.8	24	0.7	28	0.6
College Teachers	6	0.2	15	0.3	95	1.1
Elementary & Secondary Teachers	183	0.5	845	1.9	2687	3.9
Social Workers	92	3.3	363	8.9	760	13.3
Nurses	109	0.8	509	2.8	1322	5.3

	1970		1980		1990	
	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.	Num.	Pct.
Physicians	303	2.6	846	5.0	1076	5.0
Attorneys	193	2.3	685	4.2	1178	5.7
Clergy	404	5.0	549	5.5	676	6.2
Engineers	722	1.3	2156	3.4	2658	4.4
Editors, Reporters & Authors	161	3.2	242	4.0	621	6.6
College Teachers	440	2.2	1059	4.5	1059	5.6
Elementary & Secondary Teachers	7499	7.1	11528	9.2	13143	10.3
Social Workers	1652	19.0	4743	22.8	6989	25.9
Nurses	2535	7.9	3404	7.3	5612	8.1

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1940 Census of Population: Michigan, Vol. 1, Part 24 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), Table 13; 1950 Census of Population: Michigan, Vol. 1, Part 24 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), Table 77; 1960 Census of Population: Michigan, Vol. 1, Part 24 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 122; 1970 Census of Population: Michigan, Vol. 1, Part 24 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Table 171; 1980 Census of Population: Michigan, Vol. 1, Part 24 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983), Table 219; 1990 Census of Population and Housing: Equal Employment Opportunity File, on CD-ROM (Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992). Data from 1990 includes the entire Experienced Civilian Labor Force.

The increase in the number of black professionals after 1970 had roots in two major changes. The first was the dramatic expansion of opportunities in higher education for African Americans. The percentage of blacks with more than a high school education rose gradually in the postwar era, primarily because blacks migrated to the north, where they had greater educational opportunities than in the Jim Crow south (Table 10). Still, significant black-white gaps persisted. Indeed, the ratio of blacks and whites in higher education worsened slightly in the 1960s but improved dramatically after 1970. The biggest increases came after 1970 when blacks entered universities and professional and graduate schools in large numbers for the first time.

Table 10: College Attendance and Completion by Race in Michigan, Persons 25 Years and Older, 1960-1990

Percent with 4 or More Years of College

	Black	White	Black/White Ratio
1960	2.9	7.2	40
1970	3.8	10.0	38
1980	7.6	14.9	51
1990	10.1	18.1	56
Total with College Degrees or Who Attended College			
1960	8.4	15.5	54
1970	10.5	20.0	53
1980	24.1	30.6	79
1990	38.3	45.3	85

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960 Census of Population: Michigan, Vol. 1, Part 24, Table 103; 1970 Census of Population: Michigan, Vol. 1, Part 24, Table 148; 1980 Census of Population: Michigan, Vol. 1, Part 24, Table 203; 1990 Census of Population: Michigan, CP-1-24 (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992).

The second major change occurred in private and public sector hiring practices, particularly for white-collar positions. Government became one of the most important avenues for minority opportunity. And in the 1970s, many employers began to reach out to minority workers out of fear of litigation. Some of the largest minority white-collar gains came in personnel offices that deal with state and federal agencies that enforced anti-discrimination laws. Many employers also began to create more diverse workforces when they realized that multicultural workplaces offered many competitive advantages. In some firms, minorities have made gains in positions that required contact with minority customers or clients in Africa, Latin America, or the Caribbean. Others have hired minority executives in sales and marketing to reach lucrative ethnic niches in the market. And growing number of employers contend that a diverse workforce brings significant competitive advantages. In 1984, the Xerox company, to take one example, launched a plan to create a "balanced workforce." Only a decade earlier, Xerox was one of the most homogeneously white firms in the country, with few minority employees.[55] In a 1996 Harvard Business Review article that surveyed employers about racial and ethnic diversity, David Thomas and Robin Ely noted that a growing number of managers